NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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MR. PRESIDENT: THESE KIDS CAN'T DIGEST PLATITUDES
Senator Wayne Morse, just back from his own Latin American tour, had children like these in mind when he said he found "nothing wrong with U.S. policies" that could not be cured with more loans, technical aid, welfare money and "a great deal more sympathtic understanding." Like more food and less guns.

A TALE OF TWO TRAVELERS

The needy nations contrast Ike's platitudes, Mr. K's cash

By Kumar Goshal

THE CONTRAST between the capitalist and socialist approaches to cooperation with underdeveloped countries was clearly laid out in the last weeks when, by coincidence, President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev made whirlwind tours of Latin America and Southeast Asia, respectively.

Eisenhower left on Feb. 21 for a two-week tour of Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Uruguay. Khrushchev left on Feb. 11 for a three-week tour of India, Burma, Indonesia and Afghanistan. Each extolled the system he represented as the way to peace and plenty for nations with a retarded economy.

The President warned against "communist subversion," the Premier against a return of "colonialism" through Western economic penetration. While their itineraries were limited, their words were aimed at people in all underdeveloped lands.

CUBAN EXAMPLE: Eisenhower's trip was prompted by reports of increasing Latin American discontent with U.S. policy and by the fear that other Latin Americans would follow the Cuban road to economic self-determination. As a simple man of goodwill, the President was generally received by great crowds with warm cordiality; but his words in response fell

(Continued on Page 4)

FILIBUSTER OR FUNDAMENTALS?

Civil rights climax: Congress is aware nation is watching

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

> *In Atlanta, the South was warned by a regional group that it was "in for a time of change, the terms of which cannot be dictated by white Southerners." The warning came from the Southern Regional Council, an interracial group.*
> —New York **Times**, Feb. 28, 1960

AS THE SENATE Dixiecrat filibuster against civil rights went on a 24-hour-a-day basis Feb. 29, there were widespread signs of a "time of change" on the overall struggle for Negro rights. The Washington sector of the struggle moved toward a climax in a setting of significant events underlining the sweep and scope of the civil rights crisis in America:

- By an overwhelming bi-partisan vote the Senate drove the filibuster forces into round-the-clock sessions which—either by exhaustion or a cloture vote of two thirds of the Senators—can end the talking and force a vote on pending bills to protect the voting and other rights of Negroes.
- In the House the long Rules Committee blockade preventing floor action on civil rights was broken and the Celler Bill (HR 8601) was advanced for debate, amendment and vote starting March 10.
- The spreading revolt of Southern Negro youth against segregated lunch counters (see below, this page), including sympathy picket lines in Washington, profoundly impressed Congress and put the "urgent" stamp on civil rights legislation.
- The Supreme Court made clear that it was still on the civil rights job by unanimously upsetting the fines levied by the Little Rock City Council against the NAACP for refusing to disclose names of its members.
- The President's Committee on Government Contracts at a Feb. 24 meeting agreed on a double-barreled move to end discrimination in the hiring of Negro building craftsmen on Federal construction projects. AFL-CIO president Meany attended this meeting for the first time since he became a member of the committee in 1953; and Vice President Nixon, Secy. of Labor Mitchell, and UAW president Walter Reuther also showed up in place of their customary subordinates.

THE DEVICE: The Senate debate on civil rights began on Feb. 15 in keeping with the promise given by Democratic leader Johnson (Tex.) and Republican leader Dirksen (Ill.) to civil rights advocates last September. There were no civil rights bills pending on the Senate floor, since Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Eastland (D-Miss.) had successfully bottled up all such proposals in his committee; Sen. Hennings' (D.-Mo.) Rules and Administration Committee had not yet reported his bill on the Federal voter registrar-referee proposals, and no civil rights bill had passed the House.

Johnson called up a minor House-passed bill (HR 8315) which authorized the Army to lease rent-free to the town of Stella, Mo., some unused officers' quarters in Fort Crowder to replace a school building that had been destroyed by fire in 1959. Johnson invited Senators to offer

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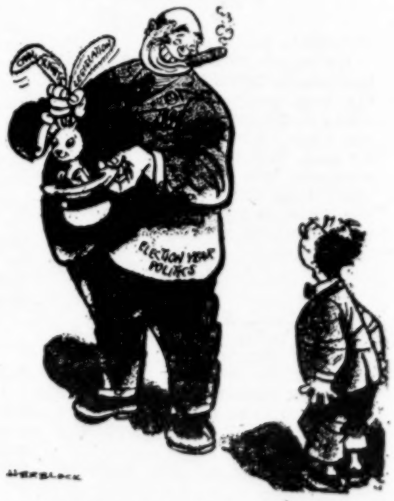

Herblock, Washington Post
"I'm not such a bad sort, kid."

'HE SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE' TO ALL

The great lunch counter sitdown of '60

By Robert E. Light

THERE IS AN ADAGE among oppressed people about their oppressors: If you can't reach their minds or their hearts, hit 'em in the pocketbook. This advice is being followed with good success by Negro students in six Southern states against department stores which refuse to serve them at lunch counters.

What started as an isolated sitdown strike by four freshmen at North Carolina A&T College in Greensboro against the local Woolworth store spread quickly to 25 other cities and may grow into a frontal assault on the jimcrow social customs of the Southern way of life. For the most part the fight is led by Negro college students pledged to non-violent principles, but adult Negro leaders have joined the battle and support has come from white students and organizations, North and South.

For Negroes in the South the long gap between a court decision outlawing segregation and the realization of equality in day-to-day living has become almost unbearable. In states where token integration of schools has been used not as a first step toward full integration but as a means of evading the Supreme Court decisions, Negroes have become embittered and disillusioned.

RANKLING CUSTOM: One piece of Southern hypocrisy that rubs particularly wrong is the custom of department stores to welcome and encourage Negro customers at merchandise counters but to refuse them service at the lunch counter. Some stores will not allow a Negro customer to try on clothes before a purchase, while whites are permitted to do so. In most stores a Negro will be sold lunch to take out, but he may not occupy a stool while waiting for his order.

In the late afternoon of Feb. 1 four North Carolina A&T freshmen decided to challenge the system. They took seats

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THE MAIL BAG

Louis E. Burnham

ASHLAND, ALA.

More than any other progressive, Negro or white, Louis Burnham understood the Negro-white teamwork for developing freedom's cause. He understood both of us better than anyone I know. He had more practical, everyday real faith in the two of us working together.

..Hardy Scott

•

SALEM, MASS.

It was like hearing that a whole regiment of the finest troops had been wiped out just before the most crucial battle. I met Louis Burnham only once, but following him in the pages of the GUARDIAN, I knew that he was the most talented, wise and effectual of all the young Negroes in the country. At that time, we talked of many things that should be done, that had to be done, to redeem this democracy from its falseness and lethargy and I put a question to him that had been plaguing me, an ignorant white man, for some time. "Why don't the Negroes themselves do more," I asked him. "Why aren't they on the firing line every minute?" They are, he told me, but it is hard to make a showing because we are short-handed. That was what killed Louis, I am sure. He tried to be everywhere on the firing line at once. Now we have lost him, this tender, ardent, passionate, selfless man.

Truman Nelson

•

CLEVELAND, O.

Terribly shocked to hear about Lou. He has been a friend since Youth Congress days, and will be much missed.

Marie Haug

•

HELENA, ALA.

We share with you the shock and loss in Lou Burnham's death. He was truly a sensitive and genuine person. He had found his place; the place had found its man. His untimely death is a grievous loss to everyone who knew him. It is a tragic loss to the American progressive movement and to all the peoples of the world.

Claude Williams

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

How many—or rather, how few!—of the young people who are in their 20's and 30's today will pack such a lifetime of noble activity into so few years as Lou Burnham's all-too short life span?

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"The Arab world is one of the most misunderstood places on earth today," said Grant C. Butler, noted authority on Middle East affairs.

"Western influence has been felt in changing some of their [Arabs] centuries-old practices which seem barbaric to us. For instance, due to steady objections by Americans, the practice of stoning adulteresses has been outlawed in favor of shooting them."

—The San Diego Union, Jan. 19, 1960.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. L., San Diego, Calif.

The throng at St. Ambrose Church struck one as one of the most thoroughly integrated gatherings I've ever seen. This was a fitting tribute to Lou, but what a pity it had to be for so sad an occasion.

Rose Russell

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Perhaps it was Dr. Du Bois' majestic figure in that solemn walk inside the church, but all through the funeral I kept thinking, If only Louis Burnham could have lived another 44 years—how much he would have done!

Alice Jerome

No censorship

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It was per se a ridiculous event, the storm in Jack ("W.C.") Paar's teacup. But the symbolic importance was fundamental. We don't want censorship. We want to be treated like adults living in a free country. We want to read, to look at, to listen to whatever we want. We don't want the Post Office to be guardian of our or our children's morals. We have the right to control our children's mail. Even if the idiotic assertion that American children get enough allowance to spend $500 million for obscenities were true, it is of no concern to the Post Office Department. The American taxpayer doesn't want to pay the department's half billion dollar deficit for snooping, but for delivering mail.

Ammunition

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y.

I recently got a request from a teen-ager in Florida for articles on labor, for a debate she had to prepare. I found your paper to be the clearest, the most concise and factual of all the publications I receive.

Jean Gabriel

Nerve gas

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Rep. Byron L. Johnson (D-Colo.) discloses that "we have enough nerve gas stored away in metal containers at the U.S. Army Rocky Mountain Arsenal, just ten miles outside Denver, to wipe out every man, woman and child in the world."

Now the situation is reversed. Mr. Khrushchev's celebrated "we shall bury you" remark has been eclipsed by an American hue and cry of "we shall gas you." It is my fervent hope that wherever representatives of the U.S. travel in the world, peace-loving peoples will stop and challenge them on this, the most inhuman war threat to be uttered to date.

Reginald E. Carles

Friend in need

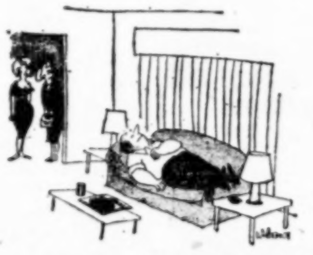
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In Frank Bellamy's article, "The big business of stealing business secrets," I was impressed with his mention of the directional horn-shaped listening device to pick up sound or voices as far as a quarter-mile away. So I wrote Bellamy asking where I could get one. Here is the reply I got: "The field is crowded and I advise you to stay out. There are too many snoops already."

Now in the first place I am not a "snoop." I'm not out to cause any trouble or to give anyone a bad time. All I want to know is who are my friends and who are not. If, as he says in his article, they are getting to be quite common then I don't know any reason why I should not have one too. Had I not read this article I would still be happy because I wouldn't know of the existence of such a gadget. I will be very unhappy until I get one.

Charles M. Rockwell

Aside to Bellamy: Give the man the address of the toy store.—**Ed.**



London Daily Mirror

"It's an experiment he's conducting to see if he could endure life in a world of complete automation."

Pop approves

BRONX, N.Y.

Accept my sincere thanks and deep appreciation for guaranteeing the uninterrupted receipt of your courageous and fighting publication.

Your treatment of civil rights and the struggles of the oppressed peoples everywhere and the fight you wage for coexistence and peace deserve full-hearted support.

Jacob Mindel

Unalienated author

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

I have been pleased to see your review of my book, **The Alienation of Modern Man.** It means much to me that my work has been reviewed by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

I am grateful to Larry Thor for the way he has presented the ideas of my book to your readers. With many good wishes for your work.

Fritz Pappenheim

Cancer & tests

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

To Robert Light's article on atomic fallout should be added the fact, stated over television last year by Dr. Andrew C. Ivy, that in the past ten years cancer is attacking one in four where before it occurred in one out of ten.

Surely one must ponder on this terrible increase in human suffering in relation to atomic tests.

Thomas Grabell

Viva

HAYWARD, CALIF.

Don't see how I've lived this long without you.

(Dr.) G. Gerash

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

"WE ARE THROWING YOU [the Hollywood Ten] to the wolves," the producers said frankly, "in order to preserve our freedom later."

This corrosion works elsewhere. To maintain our security, says the FBI, we must listen to your phone conversations. To preserve the law, we must break the law. To Alger Hiss, Harry Bridges, Carl Marzani, to John Santo, to Prof. Rader, on trial, convicted, in jail or deported, we say—to prove perjury we must use perjurers.

To the Greek people we say, to preserve your way of life we must support the government now in power. To secure freedom eventually we must practice fascism now. To secure peace, we say to the world, we must prepare for war.

I do not pretend to be an authority on the way other men live. But it is difficult for me to believe that to be a good trade unionist eventually, one must be a strikebreaker first . . . to be a good Christian eventually, one must be anti-Christian first. This is the quality of the witch-hunt—where hypocrisy is virtue, where the lie seeks the truth, where war is peace . . .

Adrian Scott, one of the Hollywood Ten, as quoted in the National Guardian, March 8, 1950

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REPORT TO READERS

No political prisoners?

MANY MUST HAVE WINCED Sunday evening, Feb. 28, on hearing a character proclaim, during the hour-long TV airing of Archibald MacLeish's **Secret of Freedom,** that our country has no political prisoners. MacLeish and countless other Americans with far less access to facts than he, know better.

What about Henry Winston, for one?

At about the same time the U.S. Parole Board was refusing a third plea for a parole for Winston last month, Yugoslavia was freeing, after two years of sentences ranging up to eight and a half years, four men charged with plotting against the regime and forming an anti-state group. And from the Roman Catholic cathedral at Zagreb, Cardinal Stepinac was buried after spending the years of his long "sentence" for notorious anti-state activities living comfortably in a small village.

The offense for which Winston, a Negro leader of the U.S. Communist Party, was sentenced to five years in prison in 1949 was no overt act like those of Cardinal Stepinac, nor of the four other Yugoslavs now freed after serving two-year terms.

Winston was convicted under our Smith Act of merely "conspiring to teach and advocate" violent overthrow of the government. Winston's part in the "conspiracy" was leadership in a legal political party of his country, one which had existed for 30 years prior to the time of his trial. After the appeals of Winston and his colleagues were rejected, Winston and three others—Gil Green, Robert Thompson and Gus Hall—failed to surrender for imprisonment. Hall and Thompson were found in hiding and sentenced to an extra three years each for "contempt of court" for failing to surrender. Green and Winston surrendered and received similar extra penalties.

BUT HENRY WINSTON IS A SPECIAL CASE. In jail his failing health was neglected. He got pills for what has since been found to be a serious brain tumor. It took a fight by his friends to free him from prison for an operation in New York's Montefiore Hospital, where he now lies almost completely blind and without the use of his legs perhaps for the rest of his life. Yet he is under constant prison guard in the public hospital, and the new denial of parole means that as soon as he may be discharged from the hospital care, he will be returned to Federal prison. In a letter to the **N.Y. Times,** Norman Thomas commented:

"It is absurd to believe that his release from prison will be a danger to a mighty nation. Only an implacable sort of vengeance explains this failure to grant medical parole."

We urge immediate messages to the White House concurring in Thomas' appeal to the President "to override the bureaucrats who have acted so harshly in this case."

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NEW HAMPSHIRE IS BEING CHALLENGED this month in two proceedings growing out of the one-man witchhunt undertaken six years ago by state Attorney General Louis Wyman which resulted in the imprisonment last December of Dr. Willard Uphaus and now threatens similar jailing for Hugh De Gregory, a one-time (1940) Communist candidate for lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts who went to New Hampshire in 1954 to work in a factory. In 1954, De Gregory refused to answer Wyman's questions under the Fifth Amendment. Wyman promptly got an immunity law passed, and questioned De Gregory again. De Gregory again refused to answer, and rejected the "immunity" on the ground that it would not protect him from possible prosecution elsewhere. While these issues were being carried to the Supreme Court, where De Gregory lost, the statute under which both he and Uphaus were questioned, and the immunity law as well, expired.

THE EXPIRATION OF THE LAW is the basis of an appeal to the New Hampshire Supreme Court in behalf of Dr. Uphaus, scheduled to be argued March 8. Not taking any chances on losing the De Gregory case through a possible state Supreme Court decision freeing Uphaus, Wyman summoned De Gregory for a new round of questioning in Superior Court in Concord March 7, under a new "blank-check" law enacted on expiration of the others.

De Gregory said he would refuse to submit to new questioning, demanding instead that Wyman conclude the proceeding undertaken five years ago under the law now under challenge as having expired.

We urge a new round of letters to Governor Wesley Powell at Concord, requesting him to free Uphaus and end Wyman's victimization of De Gregory.

—THE GUARDIAN

Francis Walter and God: Reds under the altar

By James Aronson

WOULDN'T IT BE HELPFUL, asked a Minneapolis reader in a letter to the New York **Times** of Feb. 27, "if Representative Walter were to supply a list of churches it is 'safe' to attend?"

This sharp little pin prick at the puffed-up chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was of course motivated by the comic opera disclosures in Washington about an Air Force training manual which warned fledgling fliers that the Communist Party had made serious inroads among the American clergy.

After a protest by the National Council of Churches (representing 38,000,000 American Protestants) Secy. of Defense Gates on Feb. 17 repudiated the manual and apologized to the Council. It was made known that the manual had been prepared at Lackland Airforce Base in Texas by one Homer H. Hyde, based on material gathered by the Un-American Activities Committee. Among other statements in the manual was this gem: "Another foolish remark often heard is that Americans have a right to know what is going on."

SOON AFTER GATES' ACTION Walter leaped into the breach. He declared that all the allegations in the manual were true and called Secy. of the Air Force Sharp into a closed session. Out of this session came conflicting reports: Sharp was quoted by Walter as saying that the manual's charges were accurate. Not true, said Sharp; he did not so testify: the only thing he did do was to order the manual withdrawn without determining the truth or falseness of the charges.

Then the Committee released a transcript of the hearing in which Sharp was quoted as saying he was "in accord" with the charges of communism in the churches, and that the manual would be reissued with the charges, but with no names of people or organizations.

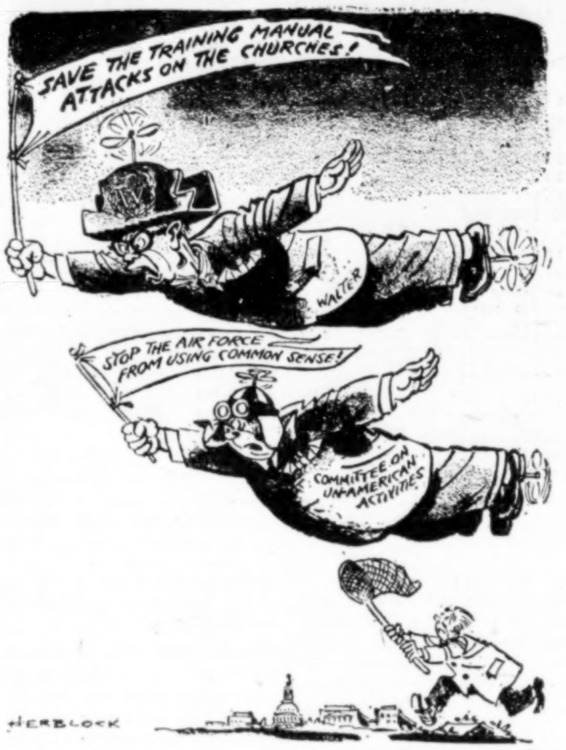
And from the Pentagon, as the bugles blew an obbligato, came this stirring Air Force pronouncement: "Air Force policy has been and will continue to be to alert its personnel to the dangers of communist infiltration into the military."

On Feb. 25, the two leading Protestant spokesmen in America—Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches, and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief administrative officer of the United Presbyterian Church, renewed the attack on Walter. He promptly invited them to testify before the Committee. He had predicted, he said, that his hearing on the manual would "falsely be labeled as an attack on religion."

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations supported the National Council's protest. There was no word from Catholic officials.

THE OPERA WOULD INDEED be comic if it were not for the fact that the latest witch-hunt farce occurred ten years almost to the week after Senator McCarthy launched the Black Fifties with his charge that there were 205 communists in the State Department. The 205 dwindled down to three, against whom Joe said he "would prove his charges." He never did.

Joe McCarthy is dead, but, as columnist Marquis Childs said in the Washington **Post**, "the heritage of McCarthyism is still a damper on American freedom, conscience and initiative. This goes to the deep concern that Americans are being prosecuted not for any act but for what they profess to believe."


SAVE THE TRAINING MANUAL ATTACKS ON THE CHURCHES!
W
WALTER
STOP THE AIR FORCE FROM USING COMMON SENSE!
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HERBLOCK

Herblock, Washington Post

"Off we go—"

No better proof is needed than the fact that Rep. Walter in the first weeks of this session of Congress was able to sneak through the House, without a single vote against him, (1) a new appropriation for his Committee, and (2) a bill which would restore all the vicious practices of security risk investigations in defense industries thrown out by the Supreme Court.

Further proof is given by Walter's summoning some intelligent and interested youngsters who went to the Youth Festivals in Moscow and Vienna—the latter on the encouragement of the State Department. There were new sessions planned for early March and there was talk that the Crusade might head west again to the fertile California valleys where film producers Stanley Kramer and Otto Preminger have been plotting to restore the Bill of Rights to the motion picture industry by crediting blacklisted writers with the films they have written.

YET NOT ONE NEWSPAPER has had the guts—or the interest—to take up the fight and mount a campaign to get rid of the Un-American committee, the security hunt, the blacklist and the whole damn kit-and-caboodle of repression. It is true that the Washington **Post** and the New York **Times** and a few other papers from time to time run a hold-your-nose editorial on one or another aspect of the witch-hunt; but there is neither consistency nor continuation.

Where, for example, have you read that the authors of the charges of the "red clergy" are ex-ministers or phony ministers who have been thrown out of the decent church for malpractice, and who have for years been rabble-rousing in the know-nothing American fascist fringe? Or that Walter's witnesses against the Youth Festival youngsters are ugly little quislings who worked for years for the fascist governments in Slovakia and Lithuania and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, and then fled the "red hordes" to the sanctuary of Hitler Germany?

All this information is available to any newspaper willing to put a reporter to work on the Un-American Committee's own files.

IF THERE IS NO CLAMOR in the nation to get rid of the witch-hunt, there are nonetheless heartening signs. In Fresno, Calif., last month the eighth annual convention of the California Democratic Council was held with 3,000 delegates representing 500 Democratic Clubs with a membership of over 40,000. In sessions marked by unusual unanimity, the delegates who represent the livest rank-and-file Democrats in the state, voted, in addition to a strong peace plank, these resolutions:

- Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.
- Give all witnesses the right to counsel and to cross-examine witnesses; enact a statute of limitations governing the time during which individuals can be brought before investigating committees; eliminate secret sessions; prohibit the publication of the names of subpenaed witnesses.
- Abolish all state and Federal loyalty oaths, including those of the National Defense Education Act.

The California action has heartened Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.)—the only person to take the House floor to protest Walter's sneak-play on the Un-American appropriation. Roosevelt is preparing a major speech against the Walter Committee some time this month, and is enlisting the support of other Representatives. If a bloc of 15 to 20 Congressmen can be organized to speak out against the Committee it will be a high-water mark of opposition to the witch-hunt.

It is possible to achieve such a bloc, but not without greater public support. Roosevelt has received a good deal of mail as a result of his brief speech against the Walter appropriation action in January. He would take heart from more mail—as would your own Congressman if you write to him to support Roosevelt. We urge you to write today on this important action.

AMONG THE MOST SIGNIFICANT actions taken by the California Council convention was a resolution calling on the President "to review again the facts in the case of Morton Sobell and take necessary action to secure ultimate justice."

This is a real breakthrough, as was an editorial in the Portland **Oregonian** recently suggesting that some day the public conscience may be stirred sufficiently to determine whether Sobell was convicted of a crime or was a victim of hysteria.

The Sobell case and the Rosenberg case are the real touchstone of American freedom. For, as Marquis Childs said in his column quoted above, with a clearing of the atmosphere there will come a "realization that freedom is not something we periodically pat ourselves on the back about. It is a creative act to be constantly renewed."

ON THE CIVIL LIBERTIES FRONT

Santiago deportation threat grows

These things have also been happening on the civil liberties front:

EFFORTS TO DEPORT Jo Ann Santiago, wife of a leading Puerto Rican patriot in the U.S., took a new and ominous turn late last month, as friends prepared a protest meeting in her behalf March 4 at Central Plaza Annex, 40 E. 7th St. (off Second Ave.), New York City.

Mrs. Santiago is Canadian-born and was brought to the U.S. as a child in 1928. Residence status was not obtained for her at that time. Thirty years later, when her husband, Jose Santiago, emerged as a leader of the Puerto Rican liberation movement here and also of a breakaway group of the U.S. Communist Party, Mrs. Santiago was ordered to leave her family and return to Canada on the technical grounds of not being a legal resident. At a hearing she refused to answer questions concerning her political associations and late last year was ordered to surrender at Idlewild Airport for deportation.

A NEW ORDER: Her attorney, Blanch Freedman, had the deportation order vacated so that Mrs. Santiago might have a second hearing, which was held last month. Mrs. Santiago this time answered most questions, denying membership in the International Workers Order and American Youth for Democracy but testifying to membership in the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC), the CP offshoot of which her husband is a leader.

Following last month's hearing, she has again been ordered to leave the country, this time not on the technicality of illegal residence, but because of the political affiliations disclosed in her answers of last month. An appeal has been filed from the new order, and the Santiago case will now move toward determination in the courts as a political deportation case.

Speakers scheduled at the protest meeting March 4 at 8 p.m. include representatives of the POC, the Puerto Rican liberation movement, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Mrs. Santiago and John T. McManus, GUARDIAN general manager.

Cleveland T-H turndown

CONVICTION of the Cleveland Taft-Hartley conspiracy defendants was upheld last month by the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

In a brief ruling which generally stated that the Appeals Court agreed with previous rulings of the trial judge, the Court failed to deal with the extensions of conspiracy doctrine, the use as a prosecution witness of an army deserter who perjured himself on the stand, and other denials of a fair trial. In a recent statement by Roland Watts of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Cleveland case was singled out as one in which particularly serious extensions of conspiracy rules concerning guilt by association were involved.

The trial judge, Paul Weick, is now on the Appeals Court, but did not participate in the ruling.

The case will now be taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Ad Hoc Committee, formed to aid the defense, is calling for immediate contributions to defray the costs of submitting the Supreme Court appeal. Donations may be sent to the Committee, P.O. Box 2461, East Cleveland Station, Cleveland 12, Ohio.

Free speech in Baltimore

A 28-YEAR-OLD TEACHER, A. Robert Kaufman, was beaten and pelted with snowballs by 200 Baltimore City College High School students on Feb. 17 as he tried to sell the **Young Socialist** near the school's entrance. He was punched in the face and his leaflets and newspapers were taken from him. As the crowd followed him, Kaufman took refuge in the vice-principal's office.

Kaufman was dismissed as a substitute fifth-grade teacher at Baltimore School No. 85 in December—on grounds that he was not "temperamentally" suited for the job—after he had been convicted on a disorderly conduct charge and fined $50 for selling the newspaper outside the high school. He is appealing the conviction.

When asked if he intended to return to the school to sell the **Young Socialist** again, Kaufman replied: "I sure am."

On Feb. 26 he went back with a reporter. There was no violence; on the contrary 60 students bought the **Young Socialist** and formed a guard to protect him from any attack.

FALSE ADS CHARGED

Witness says firms push unsafe drugs

DRUG FIRMS PUT THE HEAVY PRESSURE ON THE DOCTORS

The Kefauver Committee gets a load of samples sent to one doctor

KEYSTONE of the drug industry's defense of its enormous profits is that it spends huge sums developing wonder cures that have helped prolong the life of an average American by ten years.

But a former medical director of one of the nation's largest drug manufacturers told Sen. Kefauver's Antitrust and Monopoly subcommittee last week that much of the industry's research is spent on unneeded drugs, some of which have harmful side effects and may even be fatal. He said the industry's high pressure promotion and advertising "seduces" physicians into prescribing these drugs.

Drug industry spokesmen attacked Kefauver's previous hearings in December and January for not appreciating the tremendous research effort required to develop miracle drugs. They also hinted that the hearings were the work of advocates of "socialized medicine."

ANOTHER VIEW: Dr Haskell J. Weinstein, who resigned last November as medical director of the Roerig division of Chas. Pfizer & Co. in protest against the company's sales promotion policy, took another view. He told the committee: "Many research activities are directed towards promoting private gain, with public benefit . . . strictly incidental. An example of such questionable research has been the molecule manipulation [reshuffling the structure of a standard drug to create a "new" one] . . . Occasionally some slight improvement has been achieved, but most often the actual added benefit to the patient has been negligible, if any."

He also attacked the recent flood of "combination drugs" (antibiotics and antihistamines; antibiotics and vitamins) as "fruitless" and often "detrimental to the patient because they lack flexibility and compound problems of toxicity."

Drug advertising, he said, deliberately avoided mentioning possible hazards. Dangerous drugs were "promoted in such a fashion as to lull the physician concerning the hazards involved." An example, he said, was the antibiotic, Chloramphenicol, manufactured by Parke, Davis & Co. "Very impressive evidence concerning the incidence of severe and often fatal blood disorders attributable to the drug has been published . . . Unfortunately, the statistics rarely filter down to the practicing physician as promptly as they should. The advertising for Chloramphenicol reaches him very frequently, however."

NEW EVIDENCE: After reports of its deleterious side effects appeared in 1951-52, sales of Chloramphenicol dropped. But recently it has been re-promoted as effective against staph infection and sales again are high. In more than 20 of 43 cases of blood dyscrasia reported to the American Medical Assn. since June, Chloramphenicol was the only drug the patient was known to have taken.

Dr. Weinstein also testified that some drugs offer "more subtle hazards." He said: **"A good example are the anti-anemia preparations** which, in shotgun fashion, are theoretically designed to treat anemias of all varieties. The very real danger to the patient is that such products have the potential of masking—until too late—very serious conditions, especially cancer."

FALSE ADS: Dr. Martin A. Seidell, another former medical director at Pfizer, told the committee he quit because the company's sales policies clashed with the ethics of the medical profession. He said the company issued "deliberately misleading" ads, rejecting pleas by its own medical officers to correct errors. He told of his frustration in trying to guard the honesty of ads for Enarax, a combination drug for treatment of the digestive tract. Last month the Federal Trade Commission filed a complaint against Pfizer for its advertising of Enarax.

Seidell also told of some of the comic aspects of the medical-Madison Avenue union. Somehow an ad for an antibiotic, TAO, described the drug as a treatment for hernia, "an obvious absurdity." When Seidell wrote to an inquiring physician that the ad had "slipped by" Pfizer's medical personnel, company officials stopped the letter and ordered all copies destroyed. "The company didn't want it in writing that this had actually happened but it had," Seidell explained.

The committee hearings were scheduled to run for four full days, but because Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) insisted that the committee could not sit while the Senate was in session, they were crammed into brief morning meetings and two late night sessions which lasted until 2 a.m.

THE DEFENDER: The first witness was Dr. Austin Smith, president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn., who presented a 49-page printed statement, enhanced by 19 charts and 142 pages of supplementary data. It added up to a claim for the drug industry of the major credit for developing wonder drugs and for increasing the life span. He contended that drugs were "bargains" in the present high-cost economy. He also said that drug profits were reasonable and that the companies spend 9½ cents of every sales dollar on research.

The profit incentive in the drug industry, he said, has brought "phenomenal benefits to the people." He warned that "any tampering, any government restraints . . . will inevitably slow the flow of life-giving drugs."

THE CHALLENGE: Kefauver and the committee staff challenged Smith. They said that Smith's chart on the industry's profits was based on data from only three companies. They also produced their own research to show that the 20 largest companies spend less than 6½ cents per sales dollar on research.

Committee counsel Rand Dixon cited four examples where major drug developments came from abroad: Vitamin B1 from Holland; sulfa and oral diabetic drugs from Germany and mental illness drugs from France.

BILLS FOR CONTROL: Hearings will be resumed soon, depending on how long the Senate continues round-the-clock sessions on the civil rights bills. Kefauver said he hoped to have drug control bills ready for this session of Congress.

Although he was not yet certain of details, he said the bills would: (1) Give the Food and Drug Administration power to require proof of effectiveness as well as safety of new drugs; (2) strengthen the Federal Trade Commission's policing of drug advertising, and (3) set up a quality control system to overcome some physicians' belief that only "name brands" can be trusted.

In a recent survey by the Washington **Star**, 65½% of those questioned favored Federal price control for drugs. Letters to Sen. Kefauver might convince him to include price control in his proposals.

The two travelers

(Continued from Page 1)

like stones to people hungry for bread.

He spoke in generalities; he made no commitments. He stressed the virtues of "free enterprise" and urged greater latitude for private investments. To people seeking to stave off death by starvation and malnutrition, he said: "The production of goods—either capital or consumer goods—is not an end itself."

FABULOUS PROFITS: Latin Americans have had plenty of bitter experience with free enterprise and private capital investment. Free enterprise has often meant enterprising U.S. businessmen obtaining fabulously profitable concessions through coercion or by deals with brutal dictators.

Recently Argentine President Frondizi received some U.S. economic aid only by agreeing to open oil fields to U.S. companies. While this alienated public support for Frondizi, rendering him into "a rather sad figure on the bleak political scene of Argentina" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, Feb. 20), it brought no appreciable benefit to the people.

In **Liberation** (May, 1959), Carleton Beals gave an example of U.S. regard for human feeling in the quest of increased profit. Beals said in 1957, soon after Batista had murdered the Cuban patriot Pelayo Cuervo, U.S. Ambassador Arthur Gardner accompanied officials of the Cuban Telephone Co. (subsidiary of IT&T) to the National Palace to sign a new contract raising telephone rates. Beals said that the arrangement had been effected, according to documents found in the office of Batista's public relations adviser Edmund Chester, "by the persuasive outlay of $3,000,000."

62 CENTS A DAY: U.S. investment in Latin America surpasses $9 billion, mostly in extractive industries and in banana and sugar plantations. It has brought no improvement in the Latin Americans' living standard, since it was made to earn fat profits by paying starvation wages to local labor.

Laborers in Argentine sugar plantations, for example, are paid 62 cents a day (39 cents for women) during their working season, about four months a year. They chew on sugar-cane because they cannot afford to buy food, live in ramshackle huts and drink water from filthy irrigation ditches. According to the **Reporter** (March 3), the plantation manager shrugs his shoulders and says: "They are Indians, they don't know any better."

Latin Americans suffer from all the ills of a feudal and colonial economy. Both domestic and U.S. investors not only make abnormal profits but send and spend most of it abroad. Easily available cheap labor has retarded modernization of agriculture. Investment in the most profitable — and therefore exportable — crops and minerals has prevented crop diversification and industrialization. Surrounded by untold potential riches, the Latin Americans have remained incredibly poor, with an annual per capita income of less than $250.

WHAT THEY WANT: This is the situation Latin Americans want to change as quickly as possible. They want to grow their own food, free themselves from a one-crop economy; expand their trading horizon; build their own industries to raise their standard of living and keep the wealth they accumulate within their own country, and work with others for a peaceful world.

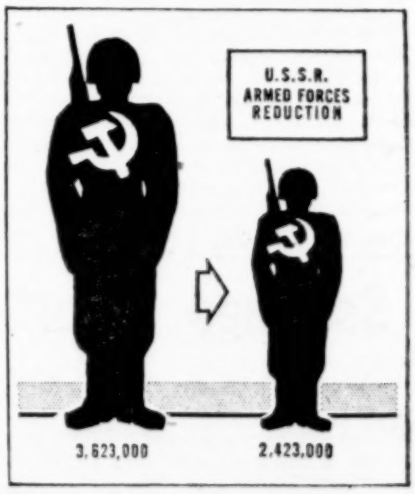
THEY WON'T SCARE: They cannot be scared away from these aims by a horrified Washington finger pointing to Cuba as falling prey to "Soviet expansionism." For not only is Cuba bringing order out of chaos but, as the Latin Americans have noted, others have initiated earlier some of the steps Cuba had taken.

Other Latin American countries began trading with the socialist countries before Cuba. Brazil has agreements with East Germany for road-building machines, with Czechoslovakia for tractors and with the Soviet Union for a variety of products.

The day before Eisenhower left on his tour, Brazil's President Kubitschek told the New York **Herald Tribune** that the Soviet agreement "is an experience and a beginning and we hope that the experience proves profitable." About China, he said: "We have not yet studied this market, but that does not mean it will not be done at any moment." Kubitchek said he favored U.S. loans like those made by the Soviet Union to Cuba at the low, 2½% interest.

A STUDY IN CONTRAST: Latin Americans will hardly be taken in by Eisenhower's warning against "communism," since they have noted Washington's predilection for the most tyrannical dictator as long as he professed to be anti-communist. They will also not fail to contrast the commitment made by Khrushchev in Asia with the statements made by the President to them.

In India, Khrushchev committed the Soviet Union for specific projects costing $378,000,000. He signed a $250,000,000 agreement with Indonesia to pay for steel mills, chemical plants, textile factories and agricultural machinery.



DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH: More and more the underdeveloped countries are absorbing the difference in the Soviet and U.S. approaches to economic cooperation:

- Moscow is willing to fit its economic assistance into plans worked out by other lands, make agreements on a government-to-government basis, extend long-term credit on low interest rates and accept payment in kind when necessary.
- Washington prefers to persuade governments of underdeveloped countries "to make it attractive" for private capital investment in fields usually chosen by the investor but not necessarily welcomed by host countries. U.S. investors generally prefer extractive industries such as oil and other minerals.

To compete successfully with the Soviet Union, the U.S. will have to make some painful readjustments.

THE DEAL WAS FOR W. GERMAN BASES IN SPAIN

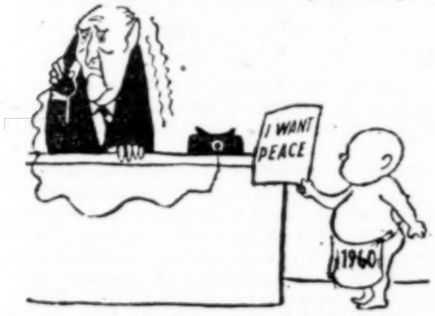
Protests may kill the Bonn-Madrid 'axis'

WEST GERMAN Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has given startling, unmistakable evidence of his determination to do everything he can to block an agreement at the Summit meeting in May. He has struck out on his own to restore Germany's pre-war military supremacy.

On Feb. 28 New York **Times** correspondent C. L. Sulzberger reported that West Germany and Spain "are engaged in secret military negotiations." He said Bonn was seeking "special airforce and missile training facilities on Spanish soil, together with depots for their logistical support." Bonn's reason was lack of training space within West Germany; but, as Sulzberger noted, it had chosen Spain in preference to a French offer of space in North Africa.

According to Sulzberger, the deal has been simmering since last autumn when Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Maria Castiella y Maiz visited West Germany. To the argument that West Germany should make no bilateral agreements with Spain because Spain is outside NATO, Bonn officials cited Washington-Madrid agreements for U.S. air and naval bases in Spain. They went further to "insist anything that draws Spain into closer contact with the West is useful."

ULTIMATE PURPOSE: Sulzberger noted that the "facilities" in Spain sought by Adenauer would in fact be bases. Successful negotiations for bases, he said, might lead to evasion of the Paris Peace Treaty clause prohibiting West Germany from manufacturing major weapons "in its territory." "Spain is neither German territory," he added, "nor subject to the Allied controls that govern Germany's new arms."



Andere Zeitung, West Germany

Adenauer: "I say, Schroeder, a Communist has got into my office!"

Speculating on "Bonn's ultimate purpose," Sulzberger recalled Adenauer's reply to a question, put to him on Oct. 19, 1953, on what he would do "if the then moot European army plan should fail." Adenauer had replied "obliquely that he had in mind a map including the U.S., England, Turkey and Spain." Sulzberger now speculated whether Adenauer cherished "the belief that Bonn must prepare for a day when NATO begins to weaken and should be replaced by bilateral pacts."

News of the Spanish deal coincided with the news that Adenauer still insisted on tying a Summit discussion of West Berlin's status to a German reunification program agreeable to him.

STRONG OPPOSITION: Adenauer's latest show of independence is the inevitable outcome of the Western policy of building up West Germany as an anti-Soviet spearhead. Beginning with its rearming in violation of the post-World War II four-power agreements, the Western powers have kept nurturing West German economy and military might, supplying Bonn's forces with the most modern and deadly weapons. The most recent move was a proposal by the Defense Dept. and Atomic Energy Commission to share nuclear weapons with the NATO nations.

The Bonn-Madrid deal stirred strong opposition and criticism of Western policy, especially in Britain. The GUARDIAN'S Cedric Belfrage reported from London:

"When early denials of the Spanish deal were followed by Defense Minister Strauss' 'brusque and curt' (**Daily Express**) admission of it to the British Ambassador in Bonn, a violent storm broke in Parliament and the press. Under the banner headline 'DOUBLE CROSS' the Tory **Evening Standard** front-paged that Foreign Secy. Lloyd had first heard of the plan in mid-January but had 'angrily rejected' it. The paper editorialized that if a reminder of the urgency of the Summit was needed, Adenauer had provided it: his allies 'should not hesitate to . . . override his attempts to dictate their policies with the same ruthlessness which he himself has shown.'

MOST EMBARRASSING: "Whitehall was 'reserved' for fear of further 'straining the atmosphere between London and Bonn,' but one official described Bonn's action to the **Times** as 'elephantine ineptitude' and placed 'nc credence in subsequent semi-denials that missile training bases had been contemplated.' From Washington the **Times** reported on the U. S. government's embarrassing quandary in which 'neither approval nor disapproval quite meet the situation.' The report added judiciously that 'American opinion has never been able to raise itself to the same heights of righteous indignation over fascism as it has over communism.'

"While the **Times'** man in Bonn reported that the West German military mission to Madrid had been 'against the advice of Gen. Norstad' . Norstad was reported from Oslo as sympathizing with West Germany's 'training and supply difficulties' and expressing confidence that any installations in Spain 'would be organized under NATO.'

ANOTHER SPAIN: "Labor Party leaders who backed West German rearmament once again looked foolish as they protested against an easily foreseeable development of it, but within 24 hours 170 center and left-wing Labor MP's had signed a motion condemning the Bonn-Franco deal. Robert Edwards, an MP who fought for the Spanish Republic and was at one time condemned to death by Franco, caused a sensation in the House by disclosing 'well advanced' West German plans to build a guided missile factory at Bilbao. At this 'Tory faces showed bewilderment and dismay' according to the Tory **Express**. Said Edwards: 'The Americans are now shifting their base from Morocco into Spain. There are three very large bases in Spain outside the control of NATO. Apparently the whole Mediterranean is going to be defended from a Fascist country. . . . How can you defend human freedom from a country where human freedom has been blacked out for the last 20 years?' "

Spanish newspapers, while dutifully printing a government denial of negotiations, were furious at the disclosure which they said was leaked to Sulzberger by NATO's Belgian Secy. Gen. Paul-Henri Spaak. N.Y. **Times** correspondent Benjamin Welles reported from Madrid (Feb. 26) that the Spanish press believed the disclosure had shattered all the advantages they foresaw flowing from the negotiation: "a new backdoor approach to NATO, new prestige by reviving military links with the Germans and possible lucrative arms contracts."

In Bonn, under Social Democratic pressure, Defense Minister Strauss said no agreement would be signed with Spain without NATO approval. But he insisted that "there could be no doubt as to the justification of our concept."

The Bonn government, with vast encouragement, has come to believe it is indispensable in the West's anti-Soviet policy. Seeing some NATO members wavering, it is preparing to go it alone, if it becomes necessary. It is going ahead with the Spanish negotiations, noting with accuracy that London and Washington seemed more embarrassed by the premature disclosure than by the act itself. Strauss had, in fact, consulted the British and American Ambassadors and NATO chief Gen. Lauris Norstad last month.

According to the West German news agency DPA, as reported by **Reuters** (Feb. 26), Secy. of State Christian Herter had approved the Spanish deal. It was also reported (**Times**. Feb. 28) that President Eisenhower knew of the deal when he visisted Spain last December and had made no objections to Spanish officials.

RIGID ON BERLIN: West Germany also maintains its rigid position on Berlin at the Summit because it sees that, while Britains leans closer to the Soviet views on West Berlin, the U.S. is again calling for discussing West Berlin's status in the context of German reunification on the basis of an East-West German plebiscite.

But opposition was growing in the Western hemisphere as well. On Feb. 22 Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) declared that President Eisenhower had no power to give nuclear weapons to NATO nations and said that "today the question we should be trying to decide is how we can control and reduce these weapons of mass destruction, not how we can best give them away."

In a parliamentary debate in Ottawa (Feb. 20), Canadian External Affairs Secy. Howard C. Green said: "The Canadian government is opposed to further nuclear tests, period . . . Canada believes there should be no more nuclear tests of any kind."

UNITY AT THE OLYMPICS

Heidi Biebl, 19 (l.), of West Germany, with Helga Haase, 26, of East Germany, after both won gold medals at the Squaw Valley games. Heidi won the downhill ski race and Mrs. Haase was first in the 5000-meter speed skating race. The German team placed fourth in the final tally.

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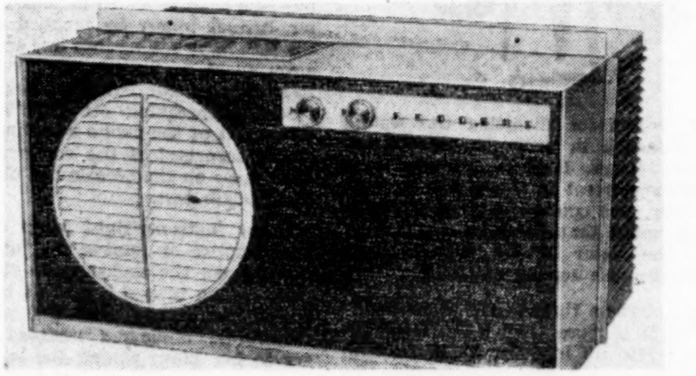

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UN SECURITY COUNCIL GETS CHARGES

Land, water claims spark Israel-Arab tension

Tension has increased all along Israel's border with the Arab lands since Syrian-Israeli clashes flared in the demilitarized zone near the Sea of Galilee the last week of January. The clashes seemed to have risen out of Israeli-Arab farm land claims in the zone which the Israelis consider an integral part of their country; the Syrians dispute this. During that week Israeli forces destroyed the Arab village of Tawafik in the demilitarized zone. Since then, Israeli and United Arab Republic forces have been alerted all along the border. There has been sporadic fighting in several areas.

The issue reached the UN Security Council Feb. 25. Israel charged the UAR with "warlike threats." Gen. Carl C. von Horn, head of the UN truce observation team, has submitted to the Council a report by the Syrian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission blaming Israel for the conflict at Tawafik. Neither side thus far has asked for a Council meeting. Meanwhile it was reported that, acting on instructions from Moscow, the Soviet ambassadors in Tel Aviv and Cairo have discussed the situation with the respective foreign ministers.

In the article below, GUARDIAN correspondent Ursula Wassermann explains some of the underlying causes of the new dispute and discusses Israel's recent foreign policy.

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

THE SHOOTING along the Syrian border, the testing of air-raid alarms in the cities, the frequent flights of jet fighter squadrons overhead bring back ominous memories of the tension which existed prior to the Sinai Campaign.

The incident at Tawafik—the Syrian village obliterated by the Israel army—probably constitutes the most serious border clash since 1956, although it fell short of the "retaliation in force" on the Qibya and Qalqilya pattern. The question that remains, however, is whether the "battle of Tawafik" was an isolated incident or the beginning of a new series of frontier skirmishes which could have serious consequences.

Both time and place suggest that this latest incident was connected with the Israel project for diverting the waters of the Jordan in order to irrigate the southern Negev. Finance Minister Levi Eshkol's statement to this effect, in mid-November, was countered by the Lebanese statement that Lebanon would deny Israel the water of the Hisbani river which joins the Jordan at Huleh.

The Lebanese threat—and it is doubtful that it is more than a bluff—to divert the Hisbani into the Mediterranean is in any case highly irresponsible. In terms of international morality, the diversion of a river, not in order to use its waters but merely to deny them to a second party, can hardly be justified in international law. But the threat gave Lebanon a high standing at the recent Arab League Conference in Cairo.

OTHER REASONS: The Jordan River Project may have played a part in another sense which might explain Israel's drastic action in that region. Officials of the Israeli Water Authority were recently in Washington seeking American support for the Jordan project. Arab opposition did not make their case easier, especially since Washington seems bent on a policy of rapprochement with Nasser. Determined to carry through the Jordan scheme at all costs, Israel realizes that without American support, the timetable will have to be extended far into the future.

This is particularly galling at a time when the West is taking an active interest in the improvement of the Suez Canal—without, incidentally, doing anything to solve the problem of Israeli cargoes. The Tawafik clash may well have been planned here also to counteract Colonel Nasser's triumph over the cargo vessel **Inge Toft**, which finally unloaded at Port Said after nine months' detention and returned to Haifa for repairs, minus her cargo.

Egypt's refusal to allow Israel cargoes through the Canal; Lebanon's threat to interfere with the Jordan River project and the economic boycott against Israel on the part of all the Arab states have given rise to a new sense of isolation, frustration and economic strangulation.

BOYCOTT SERIOUS: The boycott, which has long been ridiculed as bluff and bluster, cannot longer be laughed off, with the U.S. Navy falling into line and French government-controlled companies like Renault and Air France breaking contracts or breaking off negotiations. A large part of the public was thus unpleasantly surprised at the comment in the local press on the occasion of the Sahara atom bomb-test.

Herut (extreme right wing) congratulated France on joining the "atom club" and termed the explosion an "important contribution toward the world balance of power." **Lamerhav** (Socialist) wrote that General de Gaulle had "restored his country to her place among the leading nations of the world." **Yediot Aharonot** (independent) regarded the explosion as having "enhanced France's prestige." Ghana's freezing of French assets and Morocco's recall of her ambassador in Paris received press coverage but no comment.

ISRAELI CHILDREN LEAVE AN UNDERGROUND SHELTER
They spent the night there after a recent armed clash

It seems hardly believable that the press of a nation that has suffered such grievous losses through the most cruel means of extermination can applaud the further development of means of destruction which threaten the survival of the entire world.

CONFUSED VALUES: Something has become twisted in the psychology of people who condone evil simply on the ground that it emanates from a so-called friendly nation. With the news of winds carrying radioactive dust in the direction of the Middle East, even the well-wishers of evil may have second thoughts. No alliance can justify praise of atomic tests and certainly not the Franco-Israel alliance built on the shifty sands of mutual antagonism toward the Arab countries. As one commentator here wrote: "France's recent actions toward Israel have been a resounding slap in the face; but we are so isolated that it would be dangerous to force France to declare her position."

This sense of isolation is a most dangerous phenomenon — in individuals as well as nations. It leads from psychological distortion to final aggression. Israel's isolation has, in large part, been brought about by the Arab boycott, but it is also in part explained by her own policy in tying herself blindly to an ally who represents all that is anathema to the new nations of Asia and Africa.

One of the reasons for Israel's kowtowing to France, it appears, is that de Gaulle promised to have the Middle East put on the Summit agenda, a proposal apparently rejected out of hand by Washington. America's opposition to a discussion of the Middle East seems to be twofold: (1) a refusal to admit that the Russians have any right to be consulted on matters pertaining to this region; (2) not to offend the susceptibilities of President Nasser. Yet, unless and until this problem is dealt with on the highest level, border incidents will multiply and may again develop into large-scale military operations.

Nutrition Academy lecture on H3 March 14 in N.Y.C.

DR. HERMAN GOODMAN will speak on "H3 in Combating Old Age" for the New York Chapter of the Academy of Nutrition on Mon., March 14, at 8 p.m. at the Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 W. 57th St., New York City. Admission is free.

New treats listed for Guardian trip

THE FAMOUS CZECH SPARTAKIADE, a gigantic athletic festival held in a stadium seating 200,000 people, and a celebrity-studded cocktail party in Moscow are the two most recent prospects for the GUARDIAN's 45-day tour of seven European countries. Eight thousand foreigners and up to a million Czechoslovak tourists will be in Prague during the games, giving the ancient capital a festival atmosphere while the GUARDIAN group is there.

This information came this week from GUARDIAN correspondents George Wheeler in Prague, and Wilfred Burchett in Moscow, both of whom are lining up other interesting attractions for the visitors. Smetana's opera **Dalibor** will also be playing in the Czech capital during the week, and a trip to the unique Magic Lantern is in the works.

In addition to tours of the Kremlin, the gigantic agricultural and industrial exhibitions and the Bolshoi Opera, Burchett is planning a party with "English-speaking Russians from the literary, scientific and art worlds."

The GUARDIAN readers who have registered to date for the tour are varied enough to promise companionship for everyone. The largest single contingent will be from California, with others coming from Washington, D.C., the state of Washington, Victoria, B.C., Florida and New York. Travel plans also vary, with many of the tourists making side excursions to Hungary, Italy and Israel to visit friends and relatives. Special interest has been expressed in everything from visits to Soviet mental hospitals and prisons to speech pathology centers, collective farms, ballet schools, rest centers and art exhibits.

The travelers will leave Idlewild Airport in New York the evening of May 15 and will be met in London the next morning by Editor-in-Exile Cedric Belfrage and tour leader Peggy Middleton, London County Councilor. After a round of parties and sightseeing they will leave for Stockholm, Helsinki, Leningrad and Moscow, spending nearly four weeks in nine major Soviet cities, including a three-day excursion to Black Sea resort centers, before returning via Poland, Prague and Paris.

Cost of the tour is $1,795 complete. Some reservations are still available. Write National Guardian Tour, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

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A NEW 'LOST GENERATION' OF EXPATRIATES

Why some American Negroes prefer life abroad

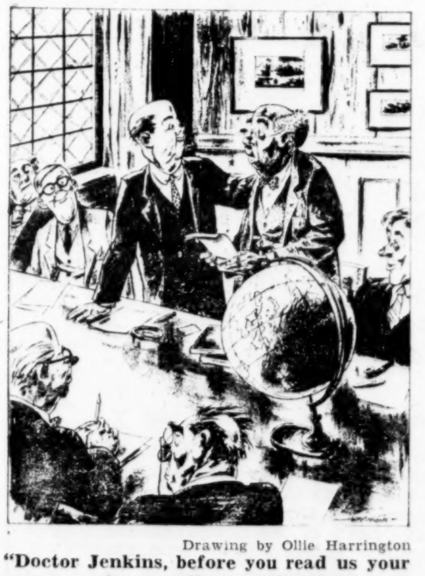
By William Gardner Smith

PARIS

THERE IS A NEW "Lost Generation" of Americans living in Paris and other points of Europe—the scores of American Negroes who migrated from their homeland after World War II in search of a new social climate from which race prejudice would be absent. These black expatriates are concentrated in France, but are also scattered around Spain (Majorca), Italy and the Scandinavian countries, and it is safe to say that, barring some really surprising social changes in the U.S., most are determined never to go back.

The large-scale emigration of American Negroes, especially artists and writers, to Europe has been one of the most interesting phenomena of the post-war period. Most of the expatriates are students, teachers or professional people, or just ordinary ex-GIs who manage to make a living somehow.

But to mention some of the well-known ones, there are writers like Chester Himes, James Baldwin, Richard Wright, Ben Johnson and William Demby; classical musicians and singers like Harold Swanson (composer of the "Short Symphony" which has been played by nearly every major orchestra in the U.S.), Aubrey Pankey, Anne Brown (the original "Bess" in Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess," who is now married to a Norwegian ski champion), and Dean Dixon (conductor of the Goteborg, Sweden, symphony orchestra), and jazz musicians like Don Gais, Inez Cavenaugh, Jimmy Davis, Art Simmons and Aaron Bridgers (New Orleans jazz master Sydney Bechet lived in France until his death last year); folk singers like Gordon Heath and painters like Buford Delaney, Ollie Harrington, Harold Cousins and Walter Coleman. Leroy Haines, former Atlanta University football star, runs a restaurant in Paris specializing in American southern cooking. There are Negro impresarios who arrange musical shows, including New Yorkers Al Dorsey and Jimmy English. The director of the attractive new American Students and Artists Center on the Paris Left Bank is a Negro, Rudolph Aggrey.



Drawing by Ollie Harrington

"Doctor Jenkins, before you read us your paper on inter-stellar gravitational tensions in thermo-nuclear propulsion, would you sing us a good old spiritual?"

SOME ARE BITTER: The attitude of the majority of these expatriates toward a possible return to the United States may be summed up by a frequent remark one artist here likes to make:

"I'll go back when they erect a statue of Jackie Robinson in the center of Jackson, Mississippi, and elect Dr. Du Bois Vice President of the United States."

Other Negroes are more bitter. Speaking to a writer here, I remarked that it was all very well to live in Europe for awhile, but that eventually I supposed we would return to the States to fight to make the country a better place. He looked at me in surprise and stated:

"The United States for me no longer exists!"

THE CHANGES: One can deplore this attitude, but one must try to understand it. Few white persons can really grasp the extent of the psychological and physical ravages caused by prejudice on Negroes. The change in social climate in Europe, as compared to the U.S., produces some startling results. Nearly all Negroes who live here become much calmer, more relaxed than they were in the U.S.

One painter, who wore glasses when he was in America, discovered, after a year in Paris, that he no longer needed them. Others rapidly gain weight—sometimes too much—once nervous tension is reduced.

There are artistic changes. Buford Delaney, who was a highly-considered "primitive" painter in New York, has now changed his style completely, concentrating on the abstract. Chester Himes, who wrote bitter protest novels, is now writing a highly successful series of socio-detective novels, set in Harlem, for the biggest French publisher, Gallimard (his novel, **La Reine des Pommes,** won the prize as the best detective novel published in France in 1958). Of course, there can also be negative effects: in some cases, the reduction of tensions has led to a diminishing of the creative drive.

WARTIME EXPERIENCE: Sparkplug of the Negro migration was the experience gained by the thousands of Negro soldiers who went abroad during the war, and discovered societies in which they were treated as equals, where they found a dignity they did not enjoy at home. But it would probably be an oversimplification to say Negroes left the U.S. simply because race prejudice **exists** there. I think many decided to leave because of the **frustration** caused by the **nature** of the Negro struggle in the U.S.

"Prejudice" is too abstract an enemy for many vigorous, intelligent and enthusiastic Negro youth. The leader of a Harlem youth gang told a well-known Negro leader: "Me and my boys will join up with you when you become more **militant!"** What he meant was that he was tired of NAACP court cases and the pressure campaigns for the adoption of mainly symbolic Fair Employment Practices Laws. He wanted to pass to direct and, if necessary, violent action.

If there were a real **liberation** struggle in the U.S.—if Negroes, like Africans, were fighting to free their country from colonial domination—then most of the Negroes now over here would be in the ranks of the black nationalists. This does not mean Negroes favor the "Negro Nation" idea launched, and later rejected, by the American Communist Party. It means simply that the emotions pent up by race prejudice cannot be satisfactorily expended in the legalistic struggle in America.

THE ARGUMENT: The struggle in the U.S. is against "prejudice" and for "integration." Integration with whom? With the concrete "enemy"—prejudiced white Americans. The Negro is in the embarrassing position of having to fight to be **accepted** by the people he must, in general, **reject** as enemies. (My mother once told me: "If you are ever stupid enough to marry a white woman, don't think you can bring her to **my** house!")

The tactics of the struggle also seem tame: slow court cases, inconclusive elections (a vote for the Democrats in the North helps put Southern Democrats in charge of Congressional committees!), propaganda, persuasion, pressure. Before I left the States, four Negro college students came to see me and **said**:

"We've formed an organization of some 200 students who are prepared to give their lives for the Negro cause. Whenever a Negro is lynched—legally or not—several of us will go to the town and kill a white man, leaving on his body an insignia identifying our counter-terrorist organization. Will you join us?"

Naturally, I refused, and pointed out that they would probably kill the **one** decent white man in any Southern town they went to. I have since repeated this story in conversations with African colonials over here, and they find it absolutely impossible to understand my reaction. They just about called me a traitor.

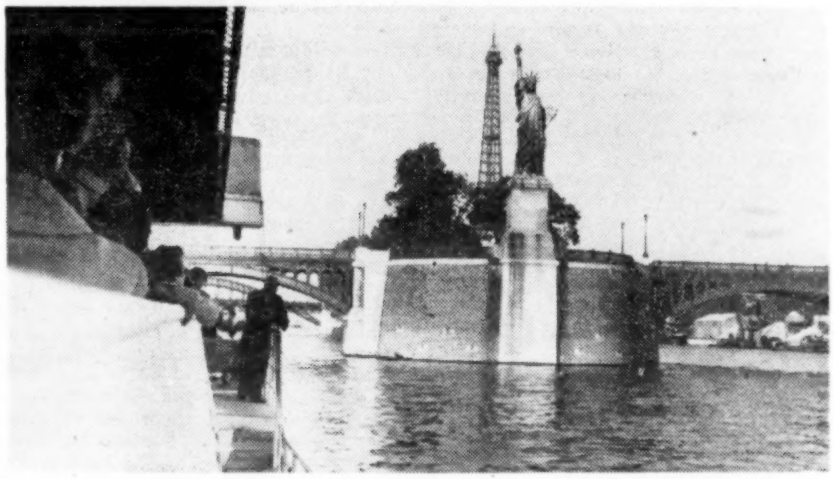


Photo by Robert Joyce

DOES THE SYMBOL HAVE A DIFFERENT LOOK IN PARIS?

A replica of Miss Liberty on the Seine blends with the Eiffel Tower

LITTLE PREJUDICE: In Europe in general (excluding England and some parts of West Germany) and France in particular, Negroes find relatively little race prejudice. They go where they please, with anyone they please, and live anywhere they can find an empty apartment. For five years I worked at the French News Agency, and was frequently in charge of the Far East desk with teams of white desk editors under me.

The French are rarely racists; their prejudice where it exists is generally cultural rather than racial—they believe French culture is the highest in the world and, if you share that culture, like Josephine Baker or the African students here, you are considered equal regardless of your race. (There is prejudice against North African Arabs, however, and I shall return to this painful problem later.)

Like practically all members of the foreign colony in Paris, the Negro expatriates in general live on the edge of French society (except for persons like ex-Baltimore engineer Emmet Coleman who, married to a French woman, mingles almost exclusively with the French, rarely speaks English). American Negroes do their day's work, then go to cafes or apartments to meet their friends—Britons, Swedes, Canadians, Dutch, Danes, a few French, and other Americans.

ATTITUDES CHANGE: It is interesting to note the change in the attitude toward Negroes of even the most bigoted white Americans when they arrive over here. It is a striking illustration of the fact that people generally act in conformity with the existing social customs, and if you change these "laws" you can change the attitude of the man. In the highly cosmopolitan foreign colony, race prejudice is almost non-existent.

The most prejudiced Southerner, arriving here, gradually sizes up the situation and at least outwardly—and in most cases I believe fundamentally—changes his attitude! Indeed the Southerner, embarrassed by the stigma of his drawl, often goes out of his way to prove that he is not prejudiced and disapproves of prejudice.

During the reign of McCarthyism, there were some signs that the presence of the large Negro colony in Paris was embarrassing to the State Department—for these expatriates were living indictments of American racism. Negroes who went to the American Embassy to get their passports renewed were frequently asked pointedly: "When are you going home?" or even, "Don't you think it's time for you to return to the U.S.?" Many Negroes refused to go to the Embassy in Paris, and simply let their passports expire. Meanwhile, there was a big scare—agents of the FBI and the Central Intelligence Agency were known to be everywhere—and there was hesitation even to discuss in public questions of race prejudice in the U.S. This period came to an end here at about the same time the witch hunt began to subside in America.

ESCAPISTS? One criticism the Negro expatriates hear frequently is: "You should feel guilty about fleeing America, since all Negroes cannot escape so easily." And they reply: "First of all, not all Negroes **want** to escape, since many could not do without their refrigerators, television sets and cars; secondly, would you have criticized Jews for fleeing Nazi Germany on the grounds that other Jews could not or did not escape?" There is no attempt here to equate the situation of American Negroes with that of the German Jews; but this is an argument often used.

However, all is not rosy in France. The continuation of the Algerian war, and the downfall of the Fourth Republic in 1958 have enormously increased the boldness of right-wing and fascist groups. These groups were incensed by Guinea's decision to choose independence, and fear that other African territories of the French community will follow suit. On two occasions this year, fascist gangs attacked African students because they were walking with French women, and these groups have even painted some anti-Negro slogans on walls in the Latin Quarter of Paris.

However, these groups are tiny and not representative, and the public reaction against the incidents (posters, mass meetings, newspaper articles condemning the aggressors) was immediate and overwhelming.

AMERICA'S LOSS: More disturbing is the fact that the drawn-out Algerian war, which has led to terrorist and counter-terrorist murders in France itself, has produced an anti-Arab prejudice among many layers of the population. Even workers react against the Moslems, who are imported from Algeria as cheap labor. And among many Negro expatriates there is a diffuse feeling of guilt about their privileged status as compared to the Algerians—especially since Negroes are resentful of white Americans who live in peace with their consciences in a country where the Negro is the victim of prejudice.

It is therefore possible that if the Algerian war continues, and if prejudice against Moslems increases, some Negro expatriates may decide to leave France. However, it is highly unlikely that the majority would return to the United States. There are other countries in the world where they could settle: old and new, north and south, east and west.

And this is America's loss—for many of the expatriates had valuable contributions to make to American arts in particular and American life in general. But race prejudice in the U.S., aided and abetted by political stagnation and McCarthyism, has produced a new phenomenon, that of the "Wandering Negro."

The great sitdown

(Continued from Page 1)

at the lunch counter at Woolworth's in Greensboro and asked to be served. When they were refused, they remained seated until closing time. The next day during the noon lunch hour, 30 Negro students took seats and the scene was repeated. The sitdown was repeated every day until Saturday when 400 Negroes from four colleges showed up at the store. A similar number of whites were on hand; some carried Confederate flags. There was some jostling for seats but the Negroes were careful not to provoke violence. The store manager closed the lunch counter and it remains closed pending a solution by "cool heads."

MOVEMENT SPREADS: When news of the Greensboro sitdown reached other Southern cities, the idea caught on. In three weeks sitdowns were staged in 24 other cities in North and South Carolina, Virginia, Florida and Tennessee. William T. Greene Jr., a student at Johnson C. Smith College in Charlotte, N.C., explained how it happened:

"The idea was very inspiring. We heard about how some students from Greensboro went to the lunch counters in their town to get served and we decided to do the same thing. Our protest started Feb. 9, when 150 students from our school went down to five stores in Charlotte and tried to sit at the lunch counters, too. Two of the stores, Woolworth and Kress, closed their counters within an hour after we arrived. At the three other stores . . . we couldn't get near enough to the eating area to sit down because employes barred our way. So we just walked around. Peacefully. Because we believe in non-violence."

But non-violence was not always the rule. In some cities fighting broke out when groups of white youth harassed the pickets. Police stepped in before riots broke out in all cases and some white leaders were arrested. But in Raleigh, N.C., and Richmond, Va., local officials invoked ordinances on "trespassing" against the Negroes and mass arrests were made.

DEEP SOUTH HIT: The sitdowns reached into the Deep South for the first time on Feb. 25 when 34 Negro students from Alabama State College took seats in a snack shop in the Montgomery County courthouse. The shop closed immediately. Sheriff Mac Sim Butler ordered the students to line up single file against a wall. As they stood quietly, state highway patrolmen snapped their pictures. Butler told the students: "If you disrupt the work of any of these offices, there will be trouble. There will be arrests."

Alabama Gov. John Patterson ordered an investigation and indicated that he would move to expel the students from the state-supported school. An Alabama law prohibits whites and Negroes from eating together in public or private places.

Two days later about 25 white men carrying small baseball bats in paper sacks patrolled both sides of Dexter Avenue, Montgomery's main street, in full view of local police. Christine Stovall, 22, a Negro, started across the street and a white man brushed against her. He called her a vile name and knocked her down. The men who were waiting on the sidewalk rushed to the scene. As Miss Stovall arose, one man hit her on the back of the head with a bat. Other Negroes in the street were roughed up. Poilce viewed the whole affair but made no arrests.

The sitdowns have been organized and led by students from Negro colleges because they are the least subject to reprisal. High school students who participated in the protests in Portsmouth, Va., have been threatened with expulsion from school. Pressure has also been brought against Negro faculty members.

TEAMSTER SUPPORT: The campaign in Winston-Salem, N.C., is an exception. There it started as a one-man protest by Carl Matthews, 28, a checker for a trucking company. Matthews is now the leader of an organized group of 300. He continues as leader because the Teamsters Union pledged support if the company tried to fire him.

Soon after the protests began, the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an interracial group dedicated to non-violent protest, sent officials to Southern campuses to help organize and coordinate actions.

The movement's spiritual leader is Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. He told a rally of 1,500 students in Durham, N.C.: "Let us not fear going to jail. If officials threaten to arrest us for standing up for our rights, we must answer by saying that we are willing and prepared to fill up the jails of the South. Maybe it will take this willingness to stay in jail to arouse the dozing conscience of our nation."

SOME WHITE HELP: Reaction of Southern whites has varied. Racists and delinquents have picketed the students, hoping to provoke a fight. Others have said that it was a private matter between the stores and the Negroes. But some white students have joined the protests or indicated moral support. White students from Wake Forest College joined the Negro picket line in Winston-Salem. In Baltimore white students from Johns Hopkins University joined Negro students and orchestra leader Duke Ellington in a protest at a restaurant.

Stella Jefferson, a white sophomore at Woman's College of the U. of North Carolina, in a letter to the New York **Herald Tribune** said: "I am very proud to say that the majority of the students here are sympathetic with the cause of their Negro contemporaries and realize that the cause is a just one . . . I have written this letter, which expresses my opinion and that of many other white girls who were born and reared in the South, to let some people know that not every one in the South is bigoted and narrow-minded on the race issue."

SUPPORT IN NORTH: In the North, sympathy picket lines have paraded before Woolworth and Kress stores, manned, in part, by white college students. The Student Council at New York's CCNY organized a picket line March 5 outside a Woolworth store at 120 W. 34tn St. and invited others to join.

In Philadelphia pickets organized themselves into Youth Against Segregation. They asked interested young people to contact them at 216 N. 35th St., Apt. A-201.

A mass boycott of the chain stores has not yet developed. But by closing their lunch counters, Woolworth and Kress have lost 15%-18% of their business in some Southern cities. They are most vulnerable to boycott because many of their Northern stores are in Negro neighborhoods.

RESTLESS YOUTH: But local businessmen are also worried. A white merchant from Atlanta told the **Wall Street Journal**: "We've known all along that Negroes swing a heavy economic club, especially in towns where they make up over half the population. If they learn how to use that power, they can do a good deal of damage."

Virginia rushed through special anti-trespassing legislation to curb the sitdown protests. But this integration battle is not likely to be fought in the courts. The battleground will be the department stores' cash registers where silence will sound victory.

Student Greene summed up for the protesters: "If it didn't happen this year, it would have been next year, because young Negroes in the South are getting restless."

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

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BOOKS

New light on old ills

WE VENTURE WARILY into the field of medical books, yet we feel we should report and summarize some which reach us for review so that readers may know of their existence if occasion to refer to them should arise. Those covered this week have each been written for the lay public, none seems aimed at selling particular drugs or cures, and all touch on afflictions of general concern.

A TOP NEW YORK PHYSICIAN, Dr. Henry Dolger, chief of the diabetes clinic at Mt. Sinai Hospital, has collaborated with expert medical writer Bernard Seeman on **How to Live with Diabetes,*** an easy-to-read and quite unalarming work which sets forth the causes, symptoms and methods of treatment of the ailment in a well-organized way. Gleaned from it are the following observations:

Wall Street Journal

"You will take the place of Dr. Prentice who was isolating some rare viruses, poor man."

- Overeaters are more susceptible to diabetes than others, but it is "a popular misconception" that healthy people who eat sweets tend to get diabetes. Overweight precedes diabetes in three out of four cases.
- An adult is more likely to get it than a child. Diabetes runs in families, but develops most commonly between the ages of 45 and 70. Women are more likely to get it than men. An unmarried man is more likely to get it than a married man but married women are more susceptible than unmarried. A mother of many children is more likely to get it than a mother of few. Mothers of larger infants are more susceptible than those of smaller ones. The likeliest candidates are women 45-70 who come from diabetic families and are overweight; and of these the greatest susceptibility lies with mothers of many "king-sized" infants.
- In children, it most often begins with "classical symptoms" such as bed-wetting, insatiable thirst, extreme hunger and weight loss. While growing children should be hungry, the danger signal is when they lose rather than gain weight when normal hunger is intensified. If bed-wetting, thirst, hunger, and weight loss occur, immediate consultation with a doctor is called for.
- In adults, the disease is often so mild at the outset that 30% learn of it for the first time in a casual way such as an insurance examination. Extreme thirst and frequent urination, loosening of teeth, genital itching, blurring vision are evidences, but may result from other causes. In any case, they should be checked up on by a doctor.
- Once an adult knows he or she has diabetes and treatment is begun, the chances are good for relatively normal life, although with specific extra care. Some famous diabetics who have lived full and productive lives include H. G. Wells, Hugh Walpole, Clemenceau, Cezanne, Puccini and Fiorello LaGuardia.
- At least 50% of adult diabetics can be treated without insulin but with a diet providing a mild to moderate restriction of carbohydrates. Special diets are not usually necessary. The doctor need no longer be "a symbol of punishment and deprivation to the patient." For the rest, "the insulin armory represents nearly total security." Meanwhile, research in the field of oral drugs gives promise of eliminating or minimizing the need for insulin injections. A 14-page chapter describes this research. Widespread study of prevention is also taking place.

"As a result, whatever promises are still to be fulfilled by the expanding future, today's diabetic can live a longer, fuller and more normal life than was ever before imagined possible."

NATIONAL HEALTH
DYAD

Dyad, London Daily Worker

"He's sufferin' from the strain of relaxed international tension."

**HOW TO LIVE WITH DIABETES, by Henry Dolger, M.D., and Bernard Seeman. W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y. 192 pp. indexed. $3.50.*

JAMES PARKINSON, a physician of the turn of the 18th Century, made an error in describing an ailment as "shaking palsy." Later the ailment was again erroneously described as "paralysis agitans." To avoid these misnomers for the disease, which is actually neither palsy nor paralysis, modern medicine has bypassed the difficult chore of finding a precise name for it by simply calling it Parkinson's Disease.

Whatever it is, it is the most common disabling neurological disease affecting man, and affects possibly a million people over 40 in this country with some form of muscular rigidity and tremor resulting from affliction of the small center or basal ganglia at the base of the brain. Because the brain itself (cortex) and its nerve bundles are not affected, there is no loss of speech or intelligence, nor paralysis. Sufferers can move affected limbs jerkily, whereas paralysis halts all power and voluntary movement.

There is no acknowledged cure, but it nevertheless has gained the designation of a "friendly" disease because it does not shorten life, is not contagious or inherited, does not cause pain or numbness; and can be helped by treatment with certain medications and vigorous and properly planned physiotherapy. This is the ailment from which photographer Margaret Bourke-White has written of her remarkable recovery.

There are two main types: (1) idiopathic (from unknown causes), probably the type studied by Parkinson and possibly traceable to poor circulation which fails to remove waste from the basal ganglia cells; (2) post-encephalitic, believed to have been caused in our time by the virus of Spanish influenza which swept this country and the world in the years 1917-27. (A special variety, arteriosclerotic, usually affects only people in the sixth decade with hardening of the brain arteries.)

Estimates indicate that several hundred thousand patients of the Spanish influenza epidemic are still alive in this country, and may be subject to Parkinson's Disease. Two foundations have recently come into existence—the National Parkinson Foundation for research into treatment; and the Parkinson's Disease Foundation, for reasearch into cause and prevention.

Dedicated to the victims of the disease and the founders of the two foundations is a new paperback book* on the subject by Lewis J. Doshay, M.D., director of the Parkinson Research Laboratory at Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York and founder of the first Parkinson laboratory in the U.S. It is clearly written, most interesting in its history of the disease, and contains more than 100 pages with charts, diagrams and illustrations on treatment including medicines, physiotherapy, surgery and useful day-to-day advice to patients, their families and communities. It obviously belongs in every home which may have to contend with the affliction.

—**John T. McManus**

**PARKINSON'S DISEASE, Its Meaning and Management, by Lewis J. Doshay, M.D. A Keystone Book published by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 224 pp. indexed. $1.45.*

McManus speaks on elections in Philadelphia March 19

JOHN T. McMANUS, general manager of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, will speak on "The 1960 Elections and the Independent Vote" for the Philadelphia Friends of the National Guardian, on Sat., March 19, at 8:30 p.m.

The program will take place at the Boulevard Building, 4322 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. Audience participation is welcomed. Admission is free.

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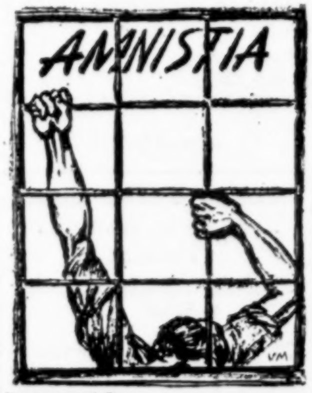

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Civil rights fight

(Continued from Page 1)

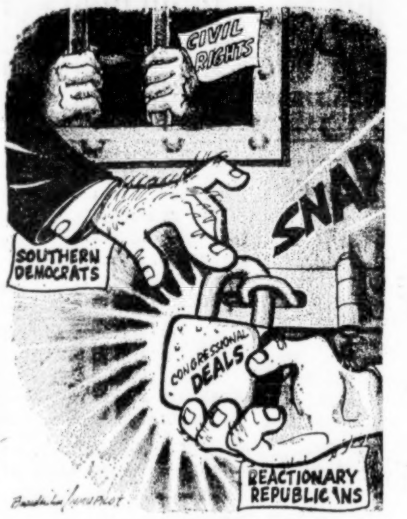
civil rights amendments to the bill, and the fight was on.

Sen. Russell (D-Ga.), chairman of the Armed Services Committee and leader of the Senate Dixiecrats, immediately attacked Johnson's method of bringing up the civil rights issue. He called it "a lynching of orderly procedure" and moved to postpone the matter for a week. The Russell motion was beaten, 28 to 61. Republicans Goldwater (Ariz.), Williams (Del.), Butler (Md.) and Young (N.D.) voted with the Dixiecrats, as did Tennessee Democrats Gore and Kefauver, and Morse (D.-Ore.), who took an inflexible position on the question of Senate procedure. The two Texas Democrats, Johnson and Yarborough, voted with the Northerners in this first vote of the 1960 Civil Rights fight.

PAINED PROTESTS: The first ten days were days of "semi-filibuster." The Senate was held in session usually from 10 a.m. to 10 or 11 p.m. Dixiecrats made long and irrelevant speeches. Considerable time was taken on other issues.

Sen. Eastland read a 92-page speech criticizing some of the civil rights proposals and suggested that the Senate "substitute the Eastland plan of nothing, and just forget the whole business."

After ten days and 100 hours of talk, Johnson shifted gears and announced that the Senate would go on a 24-hour basis. The Dixiecrats protested. Russell labeled it "legislative torture." Sen. Holland (D-Fla.) warned that some of the older Senators could not survive the physical strain. Sen. Ervin (D-N.C.) charged that the Republican and Democratic leaders were trying to "physically and mentally exhaust the Southerners." Sen. Smathers (D-Fla.) suggested a "Humane Society for Senators" so that they would be treated as well as animals.



NMU Pilot, New York

Again?

In a bit of fast parliamentary footwork Johnson brought about an overwhelming Senate vote to back up the 24-hour sessions. He thus made the decision a collective one, saying: "I do not want to have blood on my hands."

WORK HALTS: The filibuster was on. By endless talk the Dixiecrats aim to prevent a vote on civil rights. With 16 Southern Senators who can be counted on for full service in the filibuster, Russell planned to schedule six daily four-hour speeches indefinitely.

All other work of the Senate came to a halt during the filibuster. Sen. Ellender (D.-La.), chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, stated on behalf of the Dixiecrats that they would refuse the unanimous consent required to permit Senate committees to meet while the Senate is in session.

Any Senator at any time—midnight, 2 a.m. or 6 a.m.—may require a quorum of 50 Senators to be present on the floor. If they do not appear they may be tracked down and brought to the Senate by the Sergeant at Arms. Also, roll call votes may come at any time, so all Senators are required to be available Consequently the Senate now looks like a camp ground, with cots set up in the cloak room and in nearby committee rooms for use during the filibuster.

THREE ALTERNATIVES: It is expected that the filibuster will continue for two or three weeks. It will end in one of three ways: (1) the exhausted Dixiecrats may stop talking and permit the Senate to vote; (2) the Senate itself may give up and abandon the effort to bring up civil rights; (3) the Senate by a vote of two thirds of the Senators present may stop the filibuster and force a vote. Cloture has never yet succeeded in stopping an anti-civil rights filibuster, but the chances are it will be attempted this year with reasonable hopes of success.

If and when the Senate gets to vote, it will choose among a wide variety of civil rights proposals.

- Sens. Scott (R-Pa.), Keating (R-N.Y.), Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Douglas (D-Ill.) plan an attempt to restore Title III—stricken from the Civil Rights Act of 1957—which would empower the Attorney General to initiate action against interference with civil rights.
- Humphrey and five other Democrats are sponsors of S-2814 which would set up Federal voting registrars, as recommended by the Civil Rights Commission.
- Hennings has prepared a bill for "Federal enrollment officers" which combines the Federal registrar and referee approach.

All these proposals, plus a variety of others, will be discussed and voted on if the filibuster is broken.

HOUSE ACTION: The House Rules Committee released a civil rights bill (HR-8601) for House consideration when 213 of the required 219 signatures were gainen on the petition to discharge the committee and force action on the bill. If six others had signed, the blockade would have been broken and the list published, revealing something like 165 Democrats and only 55 Republicans on the pro-civil rights list. It was to prevent this that Republican Rules Committee members finally joined the Northern Democrats to give the go-ahead signal.

The House was to have 15 hours to debate HR 8601; unlimited amendments can be offered to this limited and weak measure. Scheduled for action about March 10, the House will probably take two or three weeks on civil rights. This means both the Senate and the House should be completing their action about the same time in the latter half of March.

It would seem probable that Congress in 1960 will finally pass civil rights legislation. The big question is the effectiveness of the law.

'Possum politics

The 'possum up the persimmon tree
The raccoon was on the ground,
Raccoon said, if you want to play
Politics with me,
Shake me some 'simmons down!

—SWIMPH, Pittsburgh **Courier**

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The Work & World of C. Wright Mills Two lectures by **William F. Warde**, staff writer Intl. Socialist Review. Fri., March 4, 8:30 p.m. "Causes of War & Essentials for Peace," a review of Mills' CAUSES OF WORLD WAR III.
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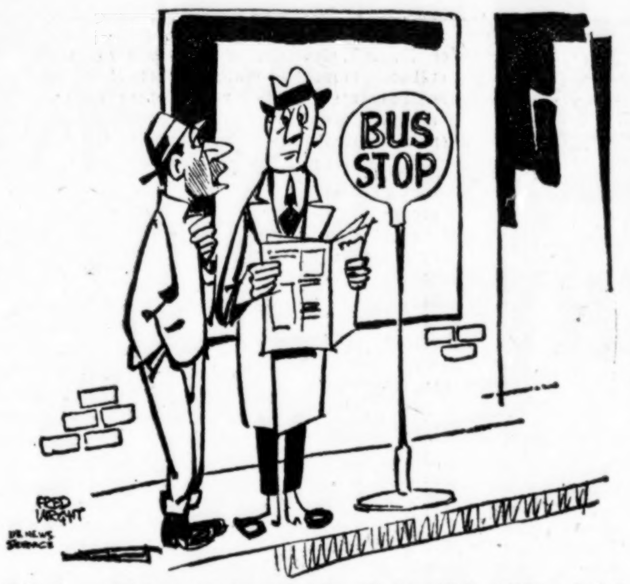

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THE GALLERY

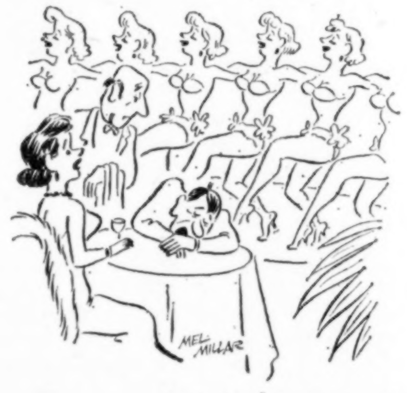
THE STATE OF FLORIDA stands proud and unshaken but a bit bewildered on how it withstood a frontal assault on its Dixie heritage. On Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, a group of Negro and white boys in Punta Gorda, Fla., played a softball doubleheader in a city park in an all-white area. For the players and the interracial audience the main concern was the ball game. But Punta Gorda's adult white citizens scurried about trying to figure a strategy to defeat this unabashed affront to the Southern way of life.

When disturbed citizens interrupted Mayor Dave Deegan's Sunday dinner, he told them he was sure there was a law against it, but it was up to the police to enforce it. Deputy Police Chief W. H. Keeler said he didn't think the game was illegal but he asked the boys to stop playing. They ignored him.

The next day when the full story came out, city officials said a special meeting would be called to handle the wayward youth.

It turned out that Fred Jones, 18, Edgar Tippens, 23, and Fred Nipper, 17, all white, had been playing with an all-Negro team at a Negro school playground for more than a month. The game with the white team had been scheduled in the normal course of things. Everyone had a good time and they would like to play again.

FOUR MONKS of the Roman Catholic Capuchin order were arrested in Caltanisetta, Sicily, on charges of operating an extortion, arson and murder gang from their monastery . . Letters we never finished reading: From the Sovereign Citizens Party of Alexandria, Va.: "Dear Fellow American: The whole world is TIRED of money." . . . Success Story: Walter Flack was a sergeant when he was discharged from the British army after World War II. Later he took the £300 bonus the government gave him and invested in real estate. Now he is one of the biggest property development operators in Britain. But he really made it last month; he hired his former boss, Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck . . . Racists forced Nationalist Chinese consul Patrick P. Sun to abandon plans to buy a home in San Mateo, Calif. . . . Brockdish, on the border of Suffolk and Norfolk in England, near American rocket bases, has refused to take part in civil defense. Brigadier T. B. Tappes-Lomax, area civil defense chief, told the parish council that Brockdish was a "backward village." He was supported by council chairman Capt. C. L. Keighly-Peach. But council vice chairman M. Young said: "We are right in an area where rockets are going to be launched and I feel that there is not a hope in Hell of saving anything. It is nothing but government propaganda."



In Transit, Washington, D.C.

"He worked overtime so we could afford this!"

FROM VINCENT HALLINAN on his clan: "The jury trying Kayo's felony assault case disagreed; nine for acquittal, two for misdemeanor and one for conviction. On Feb. 8 the District Attorney dismissed the charges, stating to the court: 'A conviction is impossible.' Kayo was indicted last May for felonious assault after he broke another boy's jaw in a fist fight. At the moment Kayo is training for the Golden Gloves tournament.

"Dynamite won the intramural boxing championship at the University of California last month, being the fourth Hallinan to cop such a championship. Last week he got an A-plus in Anthropology and the teacher affixed a note: 'Third in class of 650.'

"Butch is in law school and working out for the Olympics' diving team. He doesn't expect to make it but wants to be in the swim.

"Ringo was a tackle on the Redwood High School championship football team and a straight-A student, too.

"The lead article in the magazine **Soviet Woman** in its January, 1960, issue is a short account by Vivian [the wife] of some reflections on our trip to the U.S.S.R. She got a check for $60—a real pro.

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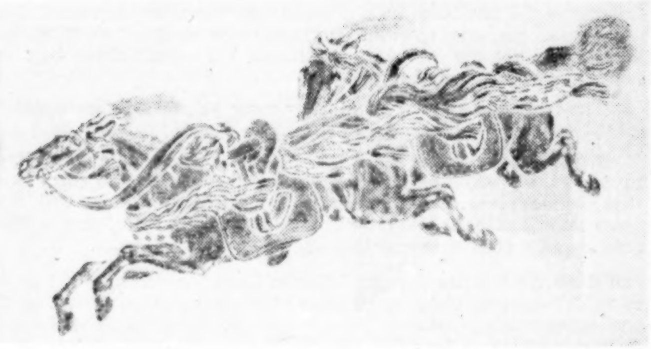
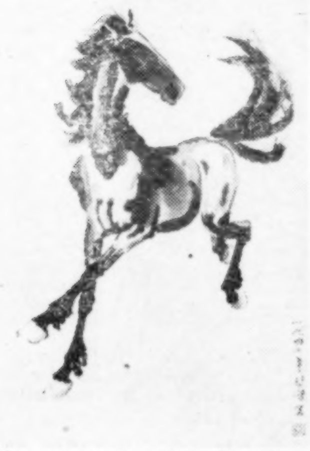


(Left) **LES PUR-SANG (The Thoroughbreds)**, a magnificent reproduction of a "rubbing" taken from a cave wall and dating from the Tang Dynasty (7th to the 10th centuries). Big (30¼" x 21¾"), in black and gray, reproduced on pure rag stock, it is a masterpiece of flowing motion that will grace any living room wall. **Only 100 on hand. A wonderful buy at the GBS Price $3.50**



(Above) LA POLUIGHE **(The Filly) by Ju-Pa-On**. A lovely wash drawing painted in China. 22" high x 15¼" wide. ....**JUST $3.00**

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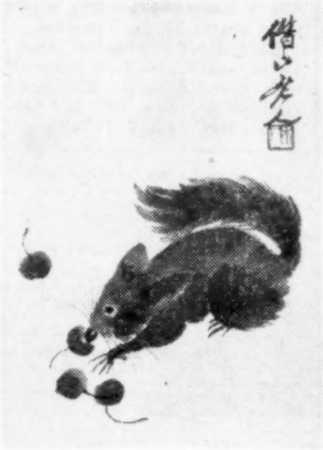

(Above) **SOURIS DES CHAMPS (The Field Mouse)** — or "Ground Squirrel" if you prefer, by **Tshi Pai Shi**. Stubborn in life as well as art, the Chinese master, during the occupation of Peking by the Japanese, painted on his door "No paintings for sale to officials." A wash drawing in black and gray with red cherries. 21½" x 15". Wonderful for children's rooms or as a gift..

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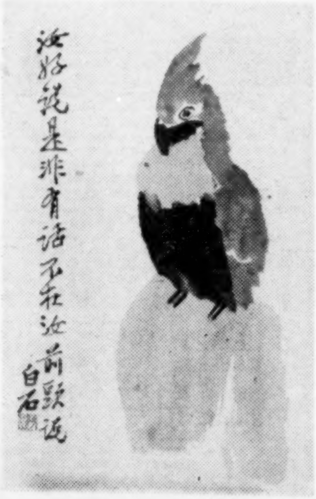
(Below) **LE PERROQUET (The Parakeet, or Parrot) by Tshi Pai Shi.** In Full Color! Lifelike black, yellow and rose, with green plumage. Delightful! The calligraphs are untranslated, since no one on the Guardian staff reads Chinese. 22¼" x 15" wide. **GBS LOW PRICE $3.50**



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the SPECTATOR

Storm in the Black Hills

RAPID CITY, S.D.

SOUTH DAKOTA is known mainly to outsiders because of its Black Hills where the faces of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt are carved on Rushmore mountain.

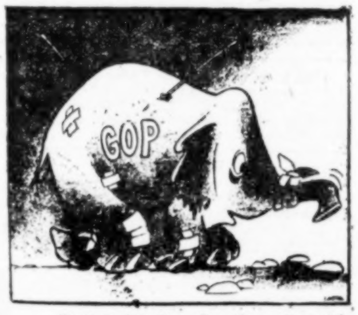
Seldom does the state make national headlines politically. But something is cooking now that promises to waft its way from coast to coast, especially in educational circles.

Dr. Willis Raff, a young professor of political science at the School of Mines in Rapid City, has thrown his hat in the ring as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Congress, a position held by Republicans for many long years with the exception of a short spell during the early New Deal days. The congressional district consists of the half of the state from the Missouri river west.

Raff's December announcement, followed by numerous press stories, indicated he would be an able campaigner against the GOP incumbent E. Y. Berry, if he got the nomination in the June primaries.

RECENTLY the state Board of Regents ruled "that any member of any faculty or employe of any educational institution within the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents shall, at least 60 days prior to any election in which he is a candidate for any national, state, or county office resign or accept a leave of absence without salary during the entire election period. If elected a resignation becomes mandatory."

As the "entire election period" could—and would—be interpreted by the Regents as two months before the primaries clear through the summer months until the votes were counted in the fall, such a ruling, if it stands, would effectively make political eunuchs out of all employes of state educational institutions by depriving them of seven months pay.



Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle

Dr. Raff decided he would fight the ruling of the board with regard to its interpretation of the resolution to mean, that "any candidate for any national, state, or county office," also included being a candidate for the nomination in the primaries. Raff did intend to take time from his teaching to campaign in the fall, and interpreted the board's resolution to mean that he would go without pay 60 days prior to the November elections.

THE MOST RABID Republican newspapers in the congressional district are whooping it up in support of the Regents' ruling. Most of them argue that Raff would need time from his classroom in which to campaign, and therefore he could not expect to do two jobs at the same time. They point out that Raff is relatively new in the state, that the district is large. But so far Raff is the only Democratic candidate to announce, and there's little prospect that he will have primary opposition. So the GOP press is begging the Democrats to dig up a candidate in opposition to Raff.

PRESIDENT F. L. PARTLO of the School of Mines in Rapid City justified the action of the Regents on a class basis. In a lengthy press release he said: "Any thinking person will recognize that candidacy for political office on the part of an employe must be with the approval and consent of the employer. It is inconceivable that John Doe, an employe of the XYZ Manufacturing Company, would run as a candidate for the state senate without the consent and approval of the administrators and governing body of XYZ and still be retained on the payroll of the company."

Raff has the backing of most of the faculty and students at the School of Mines as well as some of the smaller newspapers. He is also supported by the big Mitchell **Republic** in the state's east-river Congressional district, and by practically every farmer this writer has had the opportunity to interview. The readers writing to the newspaper columns are overwhelmingly for Raff. If he was little known last December he is known now.

SOUTH DAKOTA has long been a GOP stronghold. But four years ago George McGovern broke the monopoly and went to Congress from the east-river district. Two years ago McGovern defeated the top GOP politician, former governor Joe Foss, to win reelection. Ralph Herseth, a Democrat, went to the governor's chair at Pierre.

McGovern has announced that he will be a candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1960 against Karl Mundt of Mundt-Nixon renown. McGovern has better than an even chance to win. With the present enthusiasm among the Democrats and independent voters it is conceivable that an entire Democratic slate might prevail.

Whether the Board of Regents' ruling will stand is a matter for the courts to determine. One thing is certain: Prof. Raff is determined to fight the issue out. He could stand financial aid. The address is: Dr. Willis H. Raff, South Dakota State School of Mines, Rapid City, S.D.

Letters to Gov. Ralph Herseth and Elgie B. Coacher, executive director, State Board of Regents, both at the State House at Pierre, would be helpful.

—Homer Ayres